And they found, who knows which other animals. When they had come out from the cave, Ṭhạkur gave them clothes. They made themselves a home near the foot of the Harata mountain. They lived and got children. They multiplied very much. 539

Thereupon they went from Harata to a very large plain called Sasaṅ beḍa[19]. There they stayed for a long time. There they became tribes. Haṛam and Buḍhi divided them into septs like the septs of old, viz., Hāsdak̄, Murmu, Kisku, Hẹmbrọm, Mạrṇḍi, Sọrẹn and Ṭuḍu. Besides these original septs they made five more, viz., Baske, Besra, Pạ̄uriạ, Cọ̄ṛẹ̄ and one sept that has been lost, they were called Bedea[20]. They sing:

In Hihiṛi Pipiṛi we were born,
In Khọj kaman we were called for,
In Harata we grew up,
In Sasaṅ Beḍa we became septs.

After they had been divided into septs in Sasaṅ beḍa the ancient ancestors came to the Jạrpi country. While living there, for some cause or other they became unable to stay, and they were coming along through forest after forest. Then they reached a high mountain. Wandering along they became exhausted by again and again trying to find a way to cross. As they were unable to find this they said: "The spirit of this mountain has doubtlessly blocked the way; come, let us make a vow, that he may let us pass through". Thereupon they made a vow to him, viz., "O Maraṅ buru (O Big mountain), if thou lettest us pass through, we shall worship thee when we shall have found a country (to stay in)". O mother, a short while afterwards they suddenly at morning time found a way to pass across, and they saw it, the sun rising as soon as it became morning[21]; otherwise when they had again and again been trying to find a way to cross, the sun had been rising only late. This pass they called Siṅ duạr (the Day, or Sun, and door, or pass; may also mean the shut door). There is a song about this:

From the Jạrpi country I,
Through Siṅ duạr, Bạ̄ih duạr
The people of the country have come out.

Then they were passing through, who knows how long a time it took. Having come out from the Bạ̄ih duạr[22] they found the Aere country. Having stayed there they moved to the Kaeṇḍe country. Having lived in the Kaeṇḍe country, for some cause or other they came to the Cae country. There the people stayed for a very long time and greatly multiplied. But there also they were unable to remain; therefore they came running

[19] Sasaṅ turmeric, Curcuma longa, Roxb., and beḍa a level stretch of land along a river. [20] Cf. Santal Dictionary s. v. pạris. [21] The description presupposes that they were on the western side of a long range of high mountains. No mountain range in India would seem to justify a description like that here given. [22] Siṅ duạr is the entrance and Bạ̄ih duạr the eastern end of the pass. [823]

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539 (migrated) to the seven-river land Campa[22]. There were two passes, one Cae pass and the other the Campa pass.

In Campa they built a great many forts in order to ensure that enemies should not be able to overcome them. One was the Khęiri fort; this was the fort of the Hęmbrǫm people; one was the Kǫęnḍa fort; this belonged to the Kisku people. One was the Campa fort; this belonged to the Murmus. One was the Badoli fort; this belonged to the Mǫrṇḍis; and one was the Sim fort; this belonged to the Ṭuḍu people. There were still other forts; but we have forgotten the names.

In Campa we stayed for ages, and there we were a great people. At that time we were not subordinate to anybody. The "kings" (rulers) were persons of the Kisku sept. The Murmus were from olden times our priests; we call them Murmu Ṭhąkur. The Sǫręns were peons; they were fighters. The Hęmbrǫms were the nobility, the Mǫrṇḍis were the wealthy class, and the Ṭuḍus were drumming the dancing- and the kettle-drums, and they were making all kinds of things of iron. The Baske people were buying and selling (merchants). What special work those belonging to the remaining septs had, we do not remember.

Having settled in Campa they placed Marań buru, the Five-Six and the Jahęr era[24] in a sacred grove at the end of the village-street and were worshipping them. The Day-spirit they worshipped at sun-rise every fifth year.

Our ancestors of old have, people say, told, that in olden times, when Ram raja was living, at that time all Kharwar people went with him to Loṅka (Ceylon) and helped him to vanquish Rabona raja; for this reason from then on for a very long time we had no fighting or anything of this kind with the Dekos[25]. They were living in the plains and we in the forests and on the hills. But afterwards we got very much fighting with the Dekos; until this day we have no happy relations with them. As soon as we have cleared the jungle in any country, the Dekos come and rob us of it. Still if the Sahibs[26] nowadays did not help them, we should soon drive them to the other side of the Ganges. At the time of the insurrection[27] we had intended to make the Ganges our boundary; but

[823] [114] [178] [829] [671] [175] [669]

[22] It is not possible with any certainty to identify the countries mentioned. Skrefsrud thought that the expression "the country of the seven rivers" might be identified with the present Punjab. Others will identify Cae Campa with the country to the northwest of the present Chota Nagpur. As regards the last mentioned, the same name might have reference to two different countries. [24] lit. The Lady of the Sacred Grove. Every Santal village is to have a sacred grove (Jahęr) in its vicinity, where possible, a part of the original forest, consisting of sal-trees and at least one Mahua tree. More further on. [25] Deko is the name used by the Santals for a non-Santal of the better class, especially Hindus. A Mohammedan will not be so called, if he is recognized as a Mohammedan. [26] I.e., the European courts. The Santal's ideas of justice are not regulated by written laws. [27] The Santal insurrection of 1856, was not aimed against the Government of the day, but was a misguided attempt to get rid of the money-lenders. The Government naturally had to intervene. This insurrection marks the beginning of a new era for the Santals, according to their own estimation in many ways a beginning of deterioration. The mention of the insurrection here is an antidiluvian.

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let us cut him down!" Then they mounted on each others' shoulders to reach him; but he kicked them, so that they fell down — thud thud. From that time the Muslims have no hair on their head; they have only a chin-beard. We feel more angry with the Muslims and abhor them more than all other races. 539

From Campa the ancestors fled to Tọṛe Pokhoṛi Baha Bandoła[32]. There they stayed for a very long time. Somehow or other also the Dekos entered the open country there in great numbers. Then the country-people came together at the foot of the tope sarjọm, labaṛ aṭnaḳ, the bent Mahua tree; having spread out Lotus-leaves (to sit on) and drinking the water of the Kọṛọ spring, they, whether for twelve years or for twelve days, legislated and ruled, viz., from this day, when we have ceremonies in connexion with birth, with the giving of full social rights, with marriage and wedlock, with dying and death, we shall act and follow such and such customs. There our ancestors, who knows for what reason, upset the rules of the ancient ancestors. Much was mixed up for us with what the Dekos have. In a former age our ancient ancestors did not cremate their dead ones, nor did they take them to the river; they buried them. At marriages they did not apply sindur to the bride either. All this we have learnt from the Dekos[33].

Then they broke up from there and passed through Tọṛe Pokhoṛi Baha Bandoła, who knows whether along the embankment or over the Lotus-leaves, and came up at the foot of the Icaḳ tree[34], that is to say, the men, and the women came up at the foot of the Mahua tree. Then they saw that neither had had their foot-soles wetted, nor had the Lotus-leaves been broken; therefore they said: "We have ruled well; let these very rules and customs remain ours for ever and always." They remained there for a very long time.

Then they fled from there also, who knows for what reason. Some people say, because they feared the Muslims. As they passed along they came to the Baṛi baḍwaḳ forest. No one was willing to go in there in front of the others; therefore they said: "We shall no one go in front of the others, we shall go in a row beside each other." Then they would cross the forest. At the Jona Jọspur plain they came out and gathered there; and they asked each other: "How is it, have we all come through and out or not?" There also they tried to remain; they were in no way able to stay; therefore they went to Khaspal Belaoñja. Whilst living there they were scattered, some to Sir, some to Sikhọr[35] and some to Nagpur. From that time we have mostly been under the Dekos. Only the Kharwars and Birhọr who have joined in marriage with Dekos have landlords of their own; as for us we have lost the name of Kharwar, who knows why. Some people say

[32] The place mentioned is generally taken to be situated somewhere to the northwest of the source of the Damoda river. The first part of the name seems to be that of a dug tank (pukhṛi). [33] That the Santals and their ancestors have introduced Hindu customs, adapted to their own needs and ideas, is easily ascertained. [34] Woodfordia floribunda, Salis. [35] Some of the places mentioned are probably in the present Chota Nagpur. Sir is said to be to the southwest of Sikhar, and this lies in a southerly direction from Manbhum.

[823 177 137 823]

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27 881

All then drink this beer.

Thereupon they commence the recitation. How the world was created, and how the Santals have from that time come, feeding like the silk-worm, to the different countries, all this they tell, in order that the children may not forget it. When enumerating this they reach the words "they were scattered here and there", they mention Hikim pargana, the first overchief in the Sikhar country; they say: Hikim pargana said to them: Come along, we shall settle down; I have spied out for us virgin forest, virgin soil. The ancestors said: Come along, let us help him; we shall clear jungle, burning and felling; we shall support ourselves and get a living. Having come together there they joined in marriages; they cleared the jungle, burning and felling; they kept the iṛi and erba seed hidden away in gourd-shells, big and small; what they had sown as iṛi grew up into erba ears; what they had sown as erba grew up into iṛi ears. What they had cleared by burning they would watch, the iṛi and erba ripened; now birds might eat it; then they said: Come, we shall keep watch. The fowls cluck, the lizards nod, and the birds also chirp. Consequently at this time two persons keep watch, husband and wife. They had cleared the jungle at the junction of roads, at the cross-road. They both keep watch; while keeping watch they climb a slanting dry poporo tree[9] and play; and by the grace of Thakur the broken grain, the husked grain was not spilled, was not scattered; it came well down from the dry poporo tree. And when it 'trod' the earth it became religiously, ceremoniously unclean.

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On the day of the pestle, on the day of the mortar we are first; on the day of fire, on the day of flame we are first, at the dug hole with percolated water, at the pool water we are first; at the day of fetching firewood, at the day of fetching leaves we are first; those of you who would not go, these also we made go; let this especially be your grief. (The village people here answer: Those who are grieving have gone to Somae's narrow sloping valley[10], to the fine sand to be crocodile herds.) Now we humbly beseech you village people, from to-day, when we are having the cleansing at birth, the social initiation, we have run into debt, we borrowed at the Sunḍi house, the Haḍi house[11]; then we provided, collected (the needful), and then we asked you, invited you to come. Consequently you came on your legs, we received you with our heads, as regards sitting and standing, as regards this also we overlooked and left it half-done: high seats, a high verandah, as regards this also we are lacking and in want. Now we beseech you, on the day of marriage, the day of wedlock, on the day of cleansing at birth, the day of social initiation, the day of dying, the day of death, we shall work and earn to squeeze out the beer, we shall work and earn to draw water, we shall work and earn to stitch the leaves

[9] Poporo (or more commonly pōprō or popro), Gardenia latifolia, Ailton. Here fig. about the wife.
[10] Somae sokra, acc. to tradition, a place near the sources of the Damoda river. [11] Sunḍi is the beer-brewing Hindu low-caste; Haḍi the Hindu low-caste scavenger.

[137] [823] [564]

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765 flower-bones along. The ears of the sacrificial animal that they are to give to the dead one at the final funeral ceremonies, they cut off and let the blood drip down on the rice, and this rice they put in with the flower-bones.

Our first place of descent at the Damuda is Gai ghaṭ (cow descent place), next Tirie ghaṭ (flute descent place), after this Telkupi barni ghaṭ; after this still further down they have arranged a place of descent, this they call Hatkunḍa banda ghaṭ; the last places of descent are Haḍa bhaṅga and Dameliṛ. Some people take the flower-bones to Guṛ river[1], viz., members of the Hembrom sept.

When the men who go to the Damuda river reach there, they first buy right to descent with the cowries, that is to say, they put them down at the place of descent, and they make three marks of sindur at the place of descent; the wristlet they also put down there. Thereupon they go down to the river. First they make a small pool in the sand. When they have done this, they put on a loin-strip of new cloth, and the heir of the dead one takes the flower-bones in his hand; when he has done this, he goes down into the water of a deep pool, and turning towards the sun-rise he dives and at once lets the bones float away together with the bloody rice. When he has been bathed, he comes back to the small pool. Now he puts on other clothes. The stripped-off clothes the Doms of the place there take, and also the cowries and the wristlet.

Thereupon the heir offers earth. First he puts portions of earth on three leaves, and three tooth-brush twigs, that he has broken off on the road and brought along, these also he offers on the leaves. Thereupon he makes an invocation: Be greeted then, thou who hast been extinguished, hast fallen down, here I am performing the last rites for thee, I have bathed and washed my hair, mayest thou also bathe and wash thy hair. After this he offers earth to Pilcu haṛam and Pilcu buḍhi; he makes invocation: Here then, Pilcu haṛam, Pilcu buḍhi, I have bathed and washed my hair; may you two also bathe and wash your hair. For the extinguished one, the fallen-down one I have performed the last rites; now you two bring him in and keep him, lead him in and keep him with you from to-day. After this he offers to Porodhoi and makes invocation: Here then, Porodhoi, I have bathed and washed my hair, mayest thou also bathe and wash thy hair; now as is seen here, I have performed the last rites for the extinguished one, the fallen-down one, bring him in and keep him, lead him in an keep him with you.

After this he puts small heaps of flattened rice on three leaves, and on every leaf he puts one cake. Thereupon he worships, making the same kind of invocation. Then he himself and those of his own village who have come with him, eat this flattened rice and the cakes. The other people also act in the same way. The wrapped-up flattened rice and the rice left over from what has been offered to the bongas, the Doms at this descent to

[823] [1] The Guṛ river is said to be to the South of the Santal Parganas district. The different ghats mentioned will not be found on any map; they are known to the Santals as places where their ancestors have been.

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777 352 Luck attached to a bed is tested in a peculiar way. The interstices between a stringed bed (*khatia*) are counted from its top to bottom, beginning with *ind*, then *cand*, then *jom*, and then *raja*, and so on till the end. If either *raja* or *cand* falls on the last space, the bed is lucky, and if either *ind* or *jom* falls on it, the bed is unlucky.

777 243 825 301 [823] In sowing millets, the luck of preserving the grains from the attack of pests is ensured in a special way. The sower wears a ring made from the scale of the *Harba* (Indian scaly ant-eater). This ring must be cut by a flint to protect its virtue; and should iron be used, it loses all its powers.[1]

Origin of Witch-Craft

754 562 That the Santals have an uncanny faith in Witch-craft is known to many, but little is known about the fact that they consider all women as potential witches, who learnt their art, or rather stole it from Maraṅ Buru, the chief presiding deity, and how men in return learnt the craft of detecting the witches among women.

754 According to the sayings of the Santal patriarchs as we read in *Hòṛkorèn Mare Hapṛamko Reak'*

1 Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*, pages 22 and 265.